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# WILL EDUCATION SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM?

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The race problem is again occupying a large place in the public attention. The renewed focusing of interest on it arises from two causes—first, the conditions at the South growing out of the rape and lynching evils; second, the disquisitions of Professor Booker T. Washington and other thinkers on the problem, maintaining that education will solve it. The educational argument opens an interesting field for thought and investigation. Let us consider it briefly under the following heads:

I. Will education solve the race problem? That is, will it bring about such an advance on the part of the negro as will adapt him fully to his environments and make him a worthy integer in our national life, if he is allowed fully to enter that life, by the breaking down of the race prejudice and antipathy against him?

II. If education will not accomplish the desired advance, what are the causes which prevent such a result?

## I.

There are reasons for fearing that the hope for the solution of the race problem through education is based upon inadequate grounds. One of the most vital factors in the problem is the negro's tendency to immorality and crime. This tendency in the colored race is of fundamental importance in any consideration of the problem, because, if it continues, it means, instead of the hoped-for growth, permanent decay and degeneracy in every particular. No race can make a true advance which has not beneath its feet the firm foundation of the moral idea. The tendency is of fundamental importance, further, because, if it continues to develop, the gulf between the races will grow ever wider and the

friction ever more intense, thereby rendering the proposed solution more difficult.

How is the tendency being affected by education?

It is necessary to use the *ante-bellum* conditions as an aid in tracing tendencies among the colored race. Two things are reasonably certain about those conditions. The first is that, previous to the war, the negro was not educated. In most of the Southern States there were laws prohibiting education among the slaves. Such occurrences as the Nat Turner rebellion, in 1831, tended to the rigid enforcement of the laws, and it is safe to say that practically the entire negro race was illiterate. The second is that, previous to the war, the negro was not more criminal than other men. The slaves were noted for their docile and peaceable natures. Petty misdemeanors were usually their worst offenses. There were surprisingly few crimes against the person among them. So far as the writer can ascertain, there was only one case of the negro's crime against womanhood during all the days of slavery, while his fidelity and simple discharge of duty during the Civil War, when the whites were away fighting against his liberty, have challenged the admiration of the world.

Starting with these conditions, the changes which have come about may be traced. After the war, the education of the negro began and advanced rapidly; but side by side with it has gone his increase in crime and immorality in even greater ratio. Measured by the proportion of negro criminals to the entire negro population, the race grew more criminal between 1870 and 1880 by as much as twenty-five per cent. ;\* this despite the fact that illiteracy decreased by over ten per cent.† During the decade from 1880 to 1890, the negroes grew more criminal by thirty-three and a third per cent. ; yet illiteracy decreased during that decade by over eighteen per cent. So by the census of 1890, twenty-five years from their emancipation in the South, we are confronted with the fact that the race, though constituting less than twelve per cent. of the population of this country, furnished thirty per cent. of all the crime of the country, including thirty-

\* Stated thus because the Census of 1870 is faulty as regards facts pertaining to the negro. The seeming increase, from the Census, was larger than twenty-five per cent., but on account of the errors in the Census of 1870, the comparisons between it and that of 1880 make the negro's growth in crime for the decade appear too large. (See Census of 1880, Vol. I., p. 38.)

† Unless otherwise specified, all statistics are from the United States Census.

seven per cent. of all homicides, fifty-seven per cent. of all female homicides, and forty per cent. of all assaults. This in the face of the fact that over \$100,000,000 had been spent on their education in twenty-five years,\* and that illiteracy among them had decreased by forty-two per cent.† Though there are as yet no census reports covering the period, any one who has been observant of criminal records in recent years must conclude that the increase in the proportion of negro criminals has gone on from 1890 to the present time. Especially has this been true of the negro's horrible crime against female virtue. When Henry Smith was burned at Paris, Texas, in 1893, for mutilating and murdering a little white girl of four years old, it was predicted by Bishop Haygood, of Georgia, and other observers, that the restraining influence of that terrible example, coupled with the efforts of the good negroes to prevent them, would stop these shocking crimes. Since then, however, despite all that has been done, they have increased with alarming rapidity, until, during the few weeks following the Sam Hose burning in Georgia recently, it is not extreme to say that there were more outrages and attempts at outrage than in the two preceding years combined. The papers were laden almost daily with accounts of one, two, and sometimes three of these crimes, within or near the borders of Georgia, followed by the swift and awful vengeance of the whites; and some are committed, followed by the usual punishment, news of which never reaches the papers. The worst spirit seemed to have taken possession of the vicious elements of the negroes. There were several of these crimes committed by negro boys, little more than children; an organized band of negroes bound together by oath for outrage was discovered near Bainbridge, in Georgia; while it was reported from Little Rock, Arkansas, that one brute, in the very prodigality of wantonness, committed five of these crimes in one day before he could be apprehended.

Now, it might be thought by some that, as the majority of the race live in the South, the criminal record of the negro arises, in part, from discrimination against them by the Southern courts. But this cannot be true, for the same tendencies prevail in the

\* From estimates by Dr. Mayo, of Boston, substantiated by estimates by the National Commissioner of Education.

† These figures do not include the very large number of domestic larcenies and other small offenses for which the negroes are not punished at law, on account of the forbearance of the whites.

North where the objection cannot be urged. In Pennsylvania, for instance, in 1894, the proportion of male negro criminals to the entire number of criminals was 16.61 per cent., that of the females 34.61 per cent., and yet the negroes compose only 2.16 per cent. of the population of Pennsylvania.\*

The negro's growth in sexual immorality goes on like his growth in crime. The report of the health office of the District of Columbia† shows that, while the percentage of illegitimate to the total number of births decreased among the whites during the decade, 1884 to 1894, from 3.60 per cent. to 2.56 per cent. (28.8 per cent. decrease), it increased among the negroes from 19.02 per cent. to 26.46 per cent. (39 per cent. increase), and stood in 1894 at over ten times that of the whites. Like conditions prevail in other localities. And even these figures, it is thought, do not adequately indicate the extent of the sexual sin of the negro, for it is the common belief among the whites, especially in the South, that the idea of chastity is scarcely known to the vast lower strata of the race.

As a further illustration of tendencies, let us turn to the conditions in the North alone, where the negro has had his liberty for some generations longer than in the South, where he is far better educated, and is freest to follow his natural bent, by reason of at least a partial absence of the idea of negro inferiority which holds him in check in the South. It is held by the advocates of the educational solution that, if the negro is but given the opportunity, he will grow and improve in all respects. It may also be thought by some that it is too early to reach a judgment as to these tendencies in the South, since the negro has had but a short time there since slavery to demonstrate what he will do. The record of the negro in the North, now, meets both of these conditions, and should shed, therefore, a valuable light on what may be expected of him in the future. Turning to the North, we will find that the evil tendencies prevail there in even greater degree than in the South. The number of negro criminals in the North is much larger, in proportion to the negro population in those States, than in the South. In the North Atlantic States, there were, in 1890, 7,547 negro criminals to the million of negro population; in the South Atlantic States, there were only 2,716

\* Annual reports State Board of Charities and Lunacy, 1886 and 1894.

† 1894, p. 152.

to the million. Now, the proportion of illiteracy among the Northern negroes is but 21.71 per cent., whereas it is 60 per cent. for those of the South. It is apparent, therefore, that the negroes of the North, despite the advantageous conditions there, are almost three times as criminal as those of the South, although they are also about three times as well educated.

Going a step further in the investigation, we will find, not only that the negro is more criminal in the North than in the South, but that, dividing the South into groups of States, he is most criminal in the States where he is best educated. Grouping South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, we find that the average negro illiteracy is 65.70 per cent. The number of negro criminals to the million of negro population in those States is 1,600. Grouping Texas, Tennessee, Maryland and West Virginia, the average negro illiteracy is only 50.31 per cent. The number of negro criminals to the million of negro population in those States is 4,120. So we see that in the group of States where the negro's literacy is 15 per cent. higher than in the other group, his criminal record is two and one-half times as high.

Let us notice here, too, that in the three States where their crime is least (Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina), the negro population is densest. They constitute 56 per cent. of the population of those States; while in the States where their crime is greatest, the negro population is sparsest. They constitute but 20 per cent. of the population of Texas, Maryland, Tennessee and West Virginia.

It is a noticeable fact, also, that in the three States where his criminal record and educational development are lowest and his population densest, there has been the least advance on the part of the negro away from his simple *ante-bellum* life. The conditions on the plantations of Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina are more nearly as they were before the war than in the other Southern States. The small farm system has not grown up there so much as it has elsewhere. Great plantations, with overseers and large groups of negro laborers, are more the predominating type than elsewhere in the Southern country.

Compare the two extremes. In the three Southern States, where the negro has made the least advance, and where, according to all of our accepted standards (education, worldly condition, etc.), his status is the worst, he furnishes but 1,600 criminals to the

million of his population; whereas, in the North Atlantic States, where his condition, according to our standards, is the best, he furnishes 7,547 criminals to the million of his population. The illiteracy of the negro in the States where he furnishes only 1,600 criminals to the million of his population is 65.70 per cent.; while his illiteracy in the North, where he furnishes 7,547 to the million, is only 21.71 per cent.

Another significant fact bearing on these considerations of the negro's crime is that, looking at the race as a whole, the element which is educated is more criminal than the element which is illiterate. Only 42 per cent. of the entire colored population can read and write, whereas 46 per cent. of the negro criminals can read and write.

Now, the point is well taken that we should not expect too much of the negro, in view of the fact that he has only recently emerged from slavery. But, in the light of all the conditions, this fact does not satisfactorily account for the negro's moral decline. To argue that the low moral status of the slaves accounts for the present ethical condition of the negro, overlooks the startling increase in *crime* since the war, although there was little criminality among the slaves. Further, the negro has not stood still at what may be granted to have been a low moral status during slavery, but has since rapidly declined ethically. It is also true that his *ante-bellum* sexual immorality took the form of concubinage, while in *post-bellum* days it is the more pernicious system of prostitution for gain. So we have the right, on account of the fact that these evil tendencies are growing ever stronger, not only in the South, but more so in the North, where the negro has been free for several generations and has had every advantage, to ask ourselves the questions what these things mean, how far they are to go, and how long our civilization can stand the strain which they bring about. The constantly recurring epidemics of rape and lynching, and the numerous race riots and incipient wars force these questions upon us. Optimistic though we be, we cannot overlook the fact that there have been a dozen times, within the past year or two, when the least indiscreet act on either side might have precipitated a race war in the locality affected, involving the burning of towns and the shedding of much blood.

The consideration in this article, however, is not how much

blame is to be attached to the negro for these things, but what effect our remedies are having. Though the foregoing statistics, like all other statistics, are liable to the criticism of a lack of absolute finality as indicators of conditions and tendencies, still there must be some strong element of truth in them when they are so decisive; and, judging from them, the educational work for the negroes does not seem to be realizing the expectations based upon it. Education may not be the cause of these evils, as some go so far as to claim; but the facts seem to warrant the conclusion that it is not checking them and therefore is not solving the problem.

## II.

If we accept the foregoing facts, one or two inductions can be made from them: either that the negro has received the wrong sort of education, or that there are causes which prevent the beneficial effects which usually arise from education from prevailing in his case.

The movement for industrial education, with that great and good man, Booker T. Washington, as its chief champion, has arisen as a result of a widespread, though not specifically expressed, opinion that the first of the above conclusions is true.

While industrial education may be the best present policy and worthy for that reason of support, pending the final solution of the problem, there are reasons for fearing that its effect on the ethical condition of the negro—the vital element of the problem—will not be sufficiently marked to compass the needed reform. It has been the policy in the past educational efforts among the negroes to lay especial emphasis on the development of moral ideals; and it is difficult to see how efforts looking to moral advancement, in connection with industrial training, are to be more efficacious than have been the efforts looking to moral advancement in connection with academic and collegiate education up to the present time. In addition to this, it is by no means certain that the movement for industrial education will eventually prevail over and in large part replace the old system. In fact, it is being viewed with a skeptical, if not unfriendly, eye by a large element of the colored race, composed principally of the partisans of the old system; and it is being opposed by another element, composed of those who have had implanted in their minds the idea



of immediate equality with the whites, engendered for the most part during the carpet-bag régime, and who do not seem willing to wait for any process of growth. As illustrations of this opposition, Mr. Washington was denounced by some of the delegates to the recent Negro Convention at Chicago; and a book containing criticisms of him and his policies has also been published. But, granting that it will ultimately prevail, we must still realize that the industrial education cannot reach, directly or indirectly, for long generations at least, the mass of the negro race. And how it is to elevate this vast body of people, now seemingly far more weak, criminal and immoral than at the close of the war, and with these tendencies growing ever stronger, would be difficult of demonstration.

These considerations warrant our taking up the second possible induction. Before considering it, let us note certain parallel tendencies to the ones before examined, which may give us further light.

There are some indications that, in connection with the seeming ethical degeneracy discussed, there has set in a physical deterioration among the negroes equally marked. It is claimed by some students of the question that it is capable of scientific demonstration that the negro is weakening perceptibly in his physical manhood year after year.\* The death rate of the negroes in cities is nearly double that of the whites. The ravages of pulmonary, venereal and other diseases among them is something distressing. And while there are few direct comparative vital statistics for the rural districts, that the same conditions prevail there, more or less, as in the cities, may be inferred from the fact that the colored race is increasing far more slowly than the white. The whites outstripped them nearly twofold in the South during the decade from 1880 to 1890, and there was practically no immigration to the South and no migration of negroes away to change the value of the comparison. Had not the whites been weakened by the war, it is possible that the difference might have been even greater.

Parallel with the greater ethical decay in the North, the tendency to physical degeneracy there also seems to be more marked than in the South, as illustrated by the fact, deducible from statistics from several States North and South, that, while

\* See, for instance, F. M. Hoffman's "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."

the birth rate is greater than the death rate by about two to one in the South, it is actually less than the death rate in the North. That is to say, the race is not sustaining itself in the Northern States.

There are also some indications that the negro is degenerating as regards thrift and industry. Such students of the problem as Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Bruce have reached this conclusion. The complaints so frequently heard about the "triflingness" of the younger generations of negroes may be indications of this tendency toward lessened industrial efficiency; while the School Commissioner of Georgia states in his last annual report (1898, p. 10) that, upon careful investigation, he had found that ninety per cent. of the property owned by negroes in Georgia was acquired by ex-slaves. This fact is rendered the more significant when it is remembered that the ex-slaves constitute less than twenty per cent. of the negro population of Georgia (Census of 1890). The commissioner says further: "Most of the property owned by the negroes was acquired prior to 1890. Very little has been added to the tax books since. The younger class, or the educated class, does not seem to be adding much to the property-holding of the race."

Do not these apparently well defined tendencies toward decay among the negroes, despite the educational efforts in their behalf, point to the conclusion that there are causes which prevent the beneficial effects usually arising from education from prevailing in their case? Is this an unreasonable conclusion, in the light of the nature of the negro and the conditions surrounding him here? In our educational work for him have we not overlooked, more or less, the real nature of racial advancement? The true civilizing process is not a sudden and artificial development from without, but a gradual and harmonious growth from within. Plato's dwellers in the cave could not be suddenly transferred from their accustomed darkness to the dazzling light on the outside. The African cannot be lifted to the plane of the Anglo-Saxon by the use of either logarithms and Greek roots or formulæ for cultivating a field or constructing a pair of shoes. The Anglo-Saxon has reached his present high civilization after a long and laborious struggle upward. Through a series of well defined steps, he has risen from barbarism to his present plane. The system in which he now dwells is the logical outcome of all

that has gone before, and consequently the white man of to-day is thoroughly suited to his environment. Now, it is reasonable to think that, since Anglo-Saxon civilization is thus the culmination of a series of steps, all the steps must be taken before it can safely be reached. To suddenly introduce another race, therefore, to any step near the top before it has taken the preceding steps in the series, and then to attempt to hurry it over the other steps in the hope of having it reach and occupy the culminating one, must be a hopeless undertaking. The evolutionary process cannot be supplanted by artificial stimulants. Should we wonder, then, that our educational efforts in behalf of the negro seem to have failed of their intended purpose? Nay, more—does not the history of races show that the effort on the part of a superior people to lift up inferiors at a single stroke not only fails but establishes conditions which lead to the actual destruction of the weaker race? And is not this the largest element in the cause of the seeming failure of the educational movement among the negroes?

Here is a question that we must face, however distasteful it may be. The fact—illustrated by the conditions in Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, where the colored population is densest and where the status of the negro has not changed since the war so much as in the remainder of the country—the fact that the more the negroes live to themselves and the nearer they remain to the simple life which formerly characterized them, the better they are, while the more they scatter as a race and the closer they come into contact with our civilization and the more they endeavor to take it on, the worse they become, lends pertinence to the query. There is historical justification for the statement of the principle that a weak race, which is unassimilable in its nature, when brought suddenly into contact with the higher civilization of a strong race, unconsciously destroys itself. When a weak race which is assimilable comes into contact with a stronger the former is absorbed, as illustrated by the familiar history of the Anglo-Saxon. When the weaker race is unassimilable, however, it has not been the custom of the stronger to exterminate the weaker *vi et armis*, but rather to subordinate it. So that the ultimate extinction of the weaker peoples, where they have touched the stronger historic nations, would indicate that the weaker gradually died out of their own accord. A reason for

this phenomenon might be found in the ethical effects upon a race of this subordination—the recognized hopelessness of its position, the aimlessness of life arising from removal of incentive to effort, etc.—and the wasting effects of a struggle, involving a complete change of habit, to take on, through imitation, a civilization for which it was not prepared. The disappearance of the Turanian peoples of Europe after the Aryan invasion (their only modern representatives being the Lapps and Finns of the far North, who were protected from contact with the invaders and their customs by the snow and ice of their Northern home, and the Basques of the Pyrenees, who had a protection in their mountain walls) suggests that then as now the weaker was destroyed by the struggle to adopt the new customs of the stronger, in conjunction with the ethical effects before mentioned. In modern times, the principle has been illustrated by the natives of South America and the West Indian islands, who sadly degenerated as a result of their contact with Spanish civilization; in some of the islands—as San Domingo—even disappearing in the end entirely.

As better authenticated illustrations of the principle, we may note the following examples. The natives of Tasmania, as a result of their contact with the English, suffered total extinction in a few years. Dr. Strong, a student of these racial phenomena, remarks that the death of the race was caused “by the attempts to civilize them.”\* It was not caused by any movement for extermination, as the policy of the whites in dealing with the natives was most humane. Mr. Calder, one of the chief authorities on the Tasmanians, estimates that a total of 500 far exceeds the number of blacks killed by the whites.† The natives simply destroyed themselves.

The same results have supervened among the Maories of New Zealand, an originally strong and highly intellectual race, since they came into contact with European civilization. Degeneracy, leading to ultimate extinction, began among them as soon as they came under the influence of the new-comers. There was a decrease in their population during the fourteen years preceding 1858 of 19.42 per cent.; and in the fourteen years following 1858, of 32.29 per cent. of the remainder.‡ The Maories them-

\* See Darwin's “Descent of Man,” p. 187.

† “Native Tribes of Tasmania.”

‡ “Observations on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand,” by Mr. F. D. Fenton. Published by the British Government.

selves "attributed their decadence, in some measure, to the introduction of new food and clothing, and the attendant change of habit"—in other words, to their efforts to become civilized.

"It is evident," says Mr. Darwin, "from many statements in the life of Bishop Patteson, that the Melanesians of the New Hebrides and neighboring archipelagoes suffered to an extraordinary degree in health, and perished in large numbers, when they were removed to New Zealand, Norfolk Islands, and other salubrious places, in order to be educated as missionaries"—that is, to be civilized.

The same tendencies to decay and death began among the natives of the Sandwich Islands upon the advent of European civilization to their shores. This vital decay progressed rapidly up to the taking of the first Census in 1832; and for the forty years immediately following that Census, the remnant of natives decreased by 68 per cent.!—only 51,531 remaining of the 300,000 originally on the islands. Dating from the arrival of missionaries in 1819, "there was a rapid change in almost all the habits of the natives, and they soon became 'the most civilized (!) of the Pacific Islanders.'"<sup>\*</sup> Their degeneracy is still going rapidly forward. The native death rate for Honolulu per thousand in 1893 was 29.5; in 1894, 33.6. The European rate for Honolulu in 1893 was 17.7; for 1894, 16.8. The people who are thus miserably perishing, as a result of their contact with a higher civilization, were originally a strong and in many ways an admirable race. Mr. Featherman describes them, at the time the missionaries first visited the islands, as "the uncorrupted children of nature." They had a magnificent physical manhood, and were "open-hearted, generous, and hospitable to a fault." Since then, however, their physical strength and moral integrity have wasted rapidly away, and Mr. Bishop described them in 1888 as a hopelessly debauched and degenerate people.

Finally, a more striking and familiar example of the principle is at our very doors in the story of the American Indian—his metamorphosis from a sturdy, natural manhood into a weak, vicious, and besotted wretch, slowly withering up in the white heat of the civilization about him. It is an interesting and striking fact, too, that there is an exact parallelism between the recent histories of the Indians and the negroes, in that the Indian

<sup>\*</sup>"Descent of Man," p. 187.

tribes which have touched the whites closely have degenerated far more than those which have not. Mr. Hoffman shows that four tribes which have not come into close contact with the whites have retained a high standard of morality, that chastity is the rule among them, that venereal diseases are rare, and that they are increasing numerically; while, in the case of seven tribes which touch intimately the higher civilization about them, morality is scarcely known, venereal diseases are "excessively prevalent," and the population is rapidly decreasing.\*

Do not these facts demonstrate that the weaker races imitate most what is bad and profit little by what is good in the higher civilization, and consequently that the principle of the unconscious self-destruction of a weaker people in contact with a stronger is tenable? We take these savages from their simple life and their low plane of evolution, and attempt to give them an enlightenment for which the stronger races have prepared themselves through ages of growth. This we call "The White Man's Burden," but it seems rather to mean the Black Man's Death. These weaker races are brought into contact with all the allurements, temptations and dangers, the terrible strain of this civilization, without having grown into the strength which would enable them to safeguard themselves against the dangers, to eschew the bad and use merely the good in the higher forms. Like little children in a tropical garden, they eat all fruit merely because it looks pretty or tastes sweet, not knowing that deep in its dangerous heart lies the poison which destroys. It is like taking a strong stimulant. It exhilarates and buoys up for the time; but, all the while, it is quietly eating out the very vitals of its victim.

We have now to face the momentous question of whether this principle is not the one which has been behind the history of the American negro for the past thirty years. Are there not ethnological tendencies that lie deeper than all of our surface discussions? We have given the negro Latin and Greek and looking-glasses and steam engines, and have observed as a result a seeming advance; but below the surface it appears that there has been going on this ethical and even physical decay. The manifestations of racial degeneracy, according to Mr. Darwin and other authorities, are lessened fertility and the prevalence of venereal and other diseases, caused by immorality and resulting in a large

\* Hoffman's "Tendencies," p. 325.

infant mortality. Judging from the declining rate of racial increase, the conclusively-proven abnormal infant mortality and prevalence of venereal diseases, these manifestations seem to be strongly of force within the colored race. Are there not grounds, therefore, for thinking that the negroes are simply not able to take on this civilization in the true meaning of that term? Have they reached a stage of development which demands or which can support this higher status? Are they not merely taking the weapons of our civilization and unconsciously turning them upon themselves? If they remain in their present environment, should we be much surprised to see the vast body of the race presenting in the future a parallel history to that of the Indian? The negro has undergone a greater change in habit of life within a few decades than has the Anglo-Saxon in a thousand years. Leaving out of consideration the undoubted racial effects which a sudden change of habitat, a transition from a warm to a colder climate, has upon uncivilized peoples, should we feel surprised if evil, even fatal, results supervene from the shock of this rude and sudden arresting of the orderly development of a race—this turning of its life into new and dangerous channels?

The theory here suggested is not invalidated by the advance of individual negroes. We must not confuse the rapid development of exceptional individuals with the evolution of a race. Picked individuals, strengthened often in mental vigor by infusions of white blood, may grow rapidly; but the evolution of the race comes slowly—a part of each new element of strength being transmitted by the laws of heredity from father to son and on to succeeding generations; and so, slowly and painfully, a race advances. It is not a matter of decades, but of centuries. The negro race as a whole, however, may go forward higher yet in outward forms, but still deep down beneath these things may lie the tendencies which give color to the fear that they are a decaying people.

Now, it might be thought that, because these tendencies seem to have developed only since emancipation, they arise simply as a result of the inclination toward license which comes as a natural result of sudden liberty, and that the tide will turn. The sudden liberation of the negro doubtless hastened the development of these tendencies, but it scarcely accounts for their existence. If we could believe that the pendulum had swung to its limit on one side and was destined now to swing back, there would be grounds

for an optimistic outlook in many respects. Unfortunately, such a hope is discounted, however, by the fact that there has been no such swing back in the North, but that, as a result of the negro's longer freedom there, these evil tendencies have grown steadily stronger and become more clearly defined. The same thing is true of the West India Islands, where the negro was fully emancipated in 1838. To believe that these evil tendencies are merely temporary, and will be corrected in the future, would be to ignore the history of all the weak races which have perished as a result of their contact with superiors. When once the cold hand of degeneracy is laid upon a people, it seems as remorseless and unyielding as the hand of death. In the case of the Tasmanians before referred to, every effort was made to save them, but, despite good treatment and all advantageous conditions, the race slowly but surely died out. The same has been true of the natives of Australia. Mr. Sutherland, in his able work on "*The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*," says (p. 120):

"The colony of Victoria was not occupied at all by white men till 1835; and the early founders had among their articles of association most humane rules in regard to the blacks, rules which were strictly carried out. . . . The authorities appointed five protectors of aborigines, who lived among the blacks and reported once a year as to their condition, and who were especially commissioned to report on any outrage committed by white men. . . . Yet the aborigines of Victoria are practically a vanished race."

Just when this tearing-down process within the colored race began is unknown. We understand little about the workings of these ethnological tendencies, and consequently cannot say what subtle, though unseen, forces may have been at work during slavery, preparing the way for the manifest decline when the conditions were ripe for it to set in. That the tendencies seem to have been delayed in manifesting themselves in the case of the negro might be accounted for on the ground that his physical well being was carefully guarded during slavery, while his ethical side was protected by his peculiar situation. He was isolated from temptation and danger, in large measure, by his peculiarly subordinate position, his simple life, and the rigid restraints upon him.

Are not these, then, things which all wise and earnest thinkers on this vexed problem should keep in mind with their other facts and theories, educational and otherwise? Must not the theory



here suggested be included as a trial factor in any equation for the solution of the race problem? We cannot say finally that it lies in the realm of truth; but it would scarcely be the part of wisdom to ignore the facts upon which it is predicated. Nor does the theory necessarily mean despair of the negro race as a race. The question is not, What of the race? but, What of the race *under its present strange and abnormal environment?* There are many elements of strength in the negro's nature. The rare sense of humor and the homely wit of the old-time negroes are signs of latent capabilities; while, for intuitive knowledge of human nature and rugged native eloquence, they are scarcely surpassed by any race. The negroes in their unalloyed nature are hard workers and are faithful to a trust. It is possibly true, too, that they are the best natured people on earth; and this is by no means the smallest element in the foundation of racial greatness. What the negro would do if he were removed from the environment which seems to be sapping his racial life, it is impossible to say; but an optimistic hope for him would find strong foundations.

What the final solution will be, time alone can tell. We can only wait, watch and hope. In the mean time, as before remarked, Mr. Washington's plans appear to be the best tentative policy, and are worthy of all support. His industrial idea is a recognition of the significance of the evolutionary process in racial development. The question is, however, whether even industrial education goes back far enough, and whether the temptations and dangers which environ the negro here will not prevail over his weakness before his judgment to choose and his strength to overcome have developed. If time and further experience demonstrate the applicability to the negro of the theory here presented, we will then be confronted with the question of what action philanthropy as well as civil policy calls for. If the present relationship between the whites and blacks points to the permanent degeneracy and ultimate racial death of the negroes, it will become our duty to save this simple-minded and in many respects worthy people, who are not here through any choice of their own, who served our fathers faithfully and well, and who in many ways contributed to the upbuilding and wealth of our country. If racial contact is seen to prove disastrous to the weaker, then segregation must be effected. It will then be no longer a question

of what can, but what must, be done. The enlightened conscience of humanity would see it so. Nothing is impossible to this age and this people. We have spent over \$5,000,000,000 in bringing the problem up to its present stage of uncertainty—we might say chaos; we could spend a few millions more in carrying it out to a wise, just and humane solution. No plan for picking up the negro race *en masse* and moving them from the country, or to some isolated portion of it, is practicable. But by establishing conditions elsewhere which would invite the negro there, and then assisting him to go, the problem might be solved. As many foreigners as there are members in the colored race have come to this country within the past few decades, on account of the inviting conditions here. It is possible, therefore, for the negroes to go elsewhere if conditions invited them there. All of the negroes would not go, nor is it needful that they should do so. The old negroes are rapidly passing over to a country which lies much nearer our shores than Africa or the islands at our Southern doors. But by granting any government assistance on the age-limit plan, a sufficient number of the negroes could and would go to ease the present strain in this country on the one hand, and to insure them a racial future on the other.

Until the solution of the problem is found, the whites have a great responsibility on their shoulders in the presence of this simple-minded, impressionable and imitative people. The best elements of both races must co-operate in every legitimate way to better existing conditions, to devise ways and means for wisely lifting the negro up. The dealings of the Anglo-American with the Afro-American must be characterized by sympathy, tolerance, justice and absolute fairness. The influence of the self-seeking politician must be destroyed, and in our strength and wisdom we must lead this weaker people's steps aright, giving them examples of honesty, sincerity and righteousness, not of duplicity, chicanery and injustice.

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